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international peace requires a peace psychology. The war, as we now know, should have been ended by the warriors unequivocally. The attempt to set up an international organization for peace should have been attempted by other men in another place and actuated by the single motive of promoting the cause of justice between nations. That men attempted the impossible is the cause of the tragedy and the failure. To attempt too much is the weakness of tyros. The tragedy and failure in Paris, due to the attempt to accomplish the impossible, and that by impossible means, appears in the continuance of the war between France and Germany, between Greece and Turkey, and elsewhere. The Russian situation has threatened civilization longer than would have been the case had the war been settled promptly in Paris, and that as a final step in the war.

But if the disposition to attempt too much has operated to the postponement of peace, the disposition to attempt too little also postpones progress. The demands of France upon Germany are not enough. The demands of Great Britain upon India are not enough. The demands of the Bolsheviki are not enough. The demands of Greece in Asia Minor are not enough. The demands of Japan in China are not enough. The demands of the United States in Mexico are not enough. The demands of the so-called League of Nations are not enough. Mr. Ralston's demands, appearing elsewhere in this issue, are not enough. This may be said of the demands of the Pan American Union, of the Christian church, of party politics, and the United States Senate. All such persons must realize now that only through international organizations for peace, by which we mean a conference of all nations meeting in accordance with the principles of representative delegates adopting rules of action for the nations and submitting those rules for ratification by the various governments, all with the full understanding that such rules shall upon ratification become laws for the government of the nations which ratify, can world peace be advanced. No mere political organization of the few can be depended upon as an organization for peace. The only organization for world peace must take the form of an international conference of all the nations to the end that legal principles may be set up, proclaimed, understood, and obeyed by the nations of the world. It is not men but laws that the nations will willingly accept, understand, and obey.

These things are so patent and inviolable that we may reasonably expect, and that right early, to hear of conversations among the accredited representatives of governments looking toward the calling of a world conference. Only by such a procedure can the nations organize for peace. In Mr. Lansing's book entitled "The Peace Negotiations" are these words: "Knowing the contempt which Mr. Wilson felt for The Hague tribunal, and his

general suspicion of the justice of decisions which it might render, it seemed to me inexpedient to suggest that it should form the basis of a newly constituted judiciary, a suggestion which I should have made had I been dealing with any other than President Wilson." As we now know, Mr. Lansing was right and Mr. Wilson was wrong. While it is not necessary to attempt too much, it is important that we do not attempt too little. The duty of every friend of international peace is to exert all his influence in behalf of a conference of all the nations, for in that direction, and only in that direction, lies any hopeful organization for the peace of the world.

## YOUNG DEMOCRACY

Young Democracy" is an arresting phrase. Democracy that bids us hope must wear the rose of youth upon it. There is nothing to be gained even if we succeed in proving Pope to have been justified in his remark that, "In youth and beauty wisdom is but rare!" It has been a pleasure for us to receive from time to time the publication called "Young Democracy," advertised as "A Journal of the New Generation," published at 51 Greenwich Avenue, New York City. The fourth number of volume 2 is now before us. Its leading article deals with Russian students and the revolution, showing the part that students have taken in the revolutionary activities in Russia, an article by a young man who, while serving in the American forces on the Archangel front, was taken prisoner by the Bolshevik army. Finding that continental universities are often hotbeds of reform and revolution, the author is impressed unfavorably by the conservatism of American universities. He feels that now, when a new political and industrial era is clamoring to be born, progressive leadership is lacking in America and that what is needed is "reform and revolution," with roots among our undergraduates. Another article deals with the awakening undergraduates, "an inferior lot, sublimely unconscious of the great social problems of their times." And yet we are told that there seems to be an increasing interest among American college students in "the great social forces." The writer believes it to be hopeful that student self-government has taken a great impetus. The demand for courses in the social sciences is increasing. Groups within the colleges indicate the desire of the students themselves for more freedom and selfdirection in the search for social facts. There should be, the writer believes, an intercollegiate movement controlled by undergraduates functioning through some central body capable of sustaining student effort during successive college generations. Many of the students want this. Many members of faculties approve it.

This demand, rather impalpable as yet, seems to be for "a federation of college groups" to co-ordinate the activities of local societies; to establish a speaker's bureau on current problems of democracy; to distribute material for group discussion; to arrange stimulating annual conferences. The emergence of such is the hope of The Young Democracy.

The persons responsible for this movement among the young people of America are not only actuated by worthy motives, they seem to be getting results. In Philadelphia there is a group with a half-time secretary at work with a membership of some three hundred. This group has organized Sunday forums, study groups, and published literature. There is a forum in the Bronx, New York. There is a Union Theological Seminary Unit. Definite steps have been taken toward a permanent federation, a temporary organization having been formed under the name "The Intercollegiate Conference for Democracy."

It is announced today, April 4, that there was organized at Harvard University yesterday "The Intercollegiate Liberal League," an organization of liberal groups in colleges and universities. The purpose of this "League" is "To create among college men and women an intelligent interest in the problems of the day." are told that there were 250 students present, representing twenty-seven educational institutions. announced that they proposed "to bring about a fair and open-minded consideration of social, industrial, political, and international questions by groups of college students. . . The organization will espouse no creed or principle other than that of a complete freedom of assembly and discussion in the group." On the same day "The National Workers' Educational Bureau," having for its object the co-ordination of the existing liberal educational agencies and the creation of additional facilities of this character, was formed at a conference of liberal educational workers representing twenty cities, at the New School for Social Research, in New York City.

This all seems to be a part of a general movement more or less palpable among the young men of many countries. There is a young Japanese movement, launched in Tokyo, which is designed to enlist not only university students and young Japanese studying abroad, but also the younger elements in the old parties, with the hope that the new organization will show the way for escape from the domination of the politicians. There is a students' union in Copenhagen; indeed, there is a Scandinavian movement thought to be "of great importance." There is a similar movement in India, known as the League of Youth in India, a league which seems

to have been strengthened by opposition to alleged British attempts to control discussions among the youth of that land. There is a World's Student Christian Federation, which held a conference at St. Beatenburg, Switzerland, last August. There is a Weltjugendliga, with groups in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The Cosmopolitan Clubs, familiar to us before the war, have been reorganized in this country; indeed, they held a convention during the Christmas holidays at the University of Michigan.

A magazine given to the support of such a movement among the youth of the world should be supported. It is no criticism that their views are often more emotional than rational. Such criticism lies against groups other than those of youth.

## **FRANCE**

THE PEOPLE of the United States are always glad to ▮ welcome representatives of France, for Americans are lovers of France. At the outbreak of the war, in 1914, American millionaires, writers, lawyers, engineers, shop-keepers, and university students offered at once their services to France. When M. Viviani, former Premier and Minister of Justice of France, left again for our shores he knew the welcome that would be his. for he had been here before. Americans know the brightness and gaiety peculiar to French bonhomie. We admire the graciousness and vivacity of Frenchmen. We are inspired by their artistic good taste, outgrowth of many centuries of a homogeneous civilization. If there be in them a certain absence of individual spirit and responsibility, their objective worship of intelligence, freed of our hyper-introspection, explains to us their firm grasp of social questions. The French spirit of exaltation, their worship of honor, of la gloire, their achievements in science and industry, their freedom from fanaticism, their hatred for cant and sentimentality, appeal to the best that is in us. They may not be famous as dancers; they may not possess the best of table manners; they may not be wholly free of avarice; but we like them for the fine things in them, and because they are not "cranks," because there are no Pickwicks among them. Our best American observers find the French to be free of that sharp, thin, stridulous, eager, nervous, clever thing peculiar to many Americans. Their sense of order and proportion, their clarity of thinking, commend them to us. The French milieu leads us of America to wish that we might imitate it; but so far we have not been able to subordinate sufficiently our individualism. That milieu is the product of an infinite civilization, which can come to us only with years. The French power for organization, indeed